[Post-Chaco Period]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. 648
Economically, the impact of a foreign people was
felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian 648
farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, 177
in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits,
customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the [997]
missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts
affected the life of the Terena more intimately and
directly. The missionaries taught the people to
wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to
learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the
Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses
and to clear land and plant new crops. In addi-
tion, they taught them such handicrafts as black-
smithing, bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use
of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close associa-
tion with the Brazilians created changes in the
needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to
change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments,
and amusements became integral parts of Terena
economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes 177
was the growing dependence of the Terena on the 436
money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In
order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches,
tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians
needed money. The railroad and the cattle 177
ranches offered a ready labor market and we 464
find the Terena in increasing numbers going to
work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on
the ranches and as section hands on the rail-
road. The labor market also increased travel
and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian
world. The Indians became acquainted with
the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and
Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stim-
ulated in their desire to learn to read, to do simple
arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the
strange new world. In addition to the demand 177
for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns 433
of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a 439
ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and
hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor
and trade became essential elements in Terena
economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agricul- 241
ture, even today, forms the basis of livelihood.
On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize,
beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges,
mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

[Bananal Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 352 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yulú* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *veri* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [252] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

[P. 22-B]

[Bananal village] 353 412

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days). [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village. 291 [177] [286] [439] [797] [294]

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries. [292]

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men. 302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 291

[Banana] Village]

alone or mixed with cooked meat or sprinkled over boiled beans and other foods. 252 [262]

From the extracted juice the Terena prepare starch. Water is added to the juice, after which it is passed through a cotton cloth that captures the larger particles. The liquid is then placed in a wooden trough and allowed to settle. Next day the water is poured off gently and the fine powder in the bottom of the trough is allowed to dry in the sun. The dry powder is admitted to be a fair quality of starch and is sold by the Terena to the shopkeepers in Taunay. [439]

Manioc meal is stored in cotton bags or large cans. On long journeys a bag of manioc meal mixed with pieces of boiled meat provides a satisfactory and easily transportable food supply. Manioc meal mixed with cane sirup is also used as a dessert among the Brazilians. Bitter manioc, then, is the mainstay of the Terena. It is easy to cultivate, as it requires very little care. 251 262

Sugarcane.—Sugarcane, the Terena say, is next in importance to manioc as a food and cash crop. The Terena cultivate three principal types of cane. The old type known as "caiana" was cultivated in the Chaco but is not used very extensively at present. Another type known as "cana do Japão" is a thick reddish cane which grows well and produces a juice with a high sugar content. The most popular type, because it is the most resistant to disease, is "cane 78." The Terena use the Portuguese word for sugarcane, "cana de açucar." 249 [262]

Sugarcane is planted in the moist lowlands near the streams. The land is prepared with a hoe, and the cuttings are set out just before the heavy rains in September or October. Two weeks after planting, the field is weeded and again a month later to give the cane plants a good start. Ten to twelve months later the cane is ready for cutting. The cane is cut with a machete and hauled to the village in oxcarts. [494]

The three principal products obtained from sugarcane are sirup, "rapadura," and raw sugar. The cane press used by the Terena is the old-type wooden press which has been used by the Brazilians for centuries. This machine consists of three large wooden cylinders, about 2 feet in diameter and about 4 feet long, set perpendicularly close together in a line on a wooden platform. To the axle of the central cylinder a long wooden 257

G M 175 648 [201] M 565 648 175 G M 175 648 431 G [208] M [565] [571]

/31 cont./ their own group as a result of a process of social stratification--or non-Guaná tribes, whether Guaraní, Guaxí, or Xamakoko. "Thus," Labrador goes on, "the Eyiguayegui captains alone have servants: the Guaycuru common people had no rights over those people. Whence the Niyololas call Guaycuru caciques and their relatives 'Our captains'; but the rest of the nation and those who are not related to caciques they call 'Our brothers.'" (34) And the discrimination also extends to the offering of gifts: "On the eve of the Mbayás' departure their servants present them with some grain for the journey; a cake of nibadana with which they paint themselves red, and a cotton manta, whether white or striped in various colors, which the Chanás weave skillfully. The plebeian Mbayás are not offered such presents, even though they are provided with food during the three days they spend in the settlements by friends and acquaintances." (35)

34. Idem:267.

35. Idem: 267-268.

G 175 648 G [439]

To say that there was no interest on the Guaná's part in the /32/ periodic visits of the Guaikurú is not to understand the pattern of intertribal interaction. In the beginning of the 17th century, for the Guaná the coming of the Guaikurú to their aldeas was not only useful but desirable. They needed knives, axes, and other things which only their guests could supply, thanks to their attacks on the Spaniards and Portuguese. (36)

36. Cf. Labrador, II: 268.

A 174 648

Incidentally, this jibes with the theory developed by Max Schmidt in his book on the expansion of the Aruák. (37)

[Text continues on p. 33]

/65 cont./

175 648 184 Leverger, and Alves Ferreira. The three testimonies all date back to the decade of the forties, in the 19th century, and show us the Layâna, the Exoaladi ("Guanás"), and the Kinikinâu playing a much more decisive role in the regional economy, unlike the Terêna, who were apparently more isolated and, perhaps, on this account, more aloof. While [427] they show the Layâna living as tenant farmers /agregados/ on [439] the neighboring fazendas (118) and the "Guanás" (119) and

> 118. "The Laianas live as agregados /tenant farmers/ or camaradas /farm hands/ on the neighboring fazendas; aside from these there are some Guaicurus and Guachins." (Elliot, 1870:172.)

[433] 119. "Their (the 'Guanás') crops are not only sufficient for their own consumption, but a surplus is left to them which they sell for cash or barter...." (1870:83.)

[444] Also "many of them hire themselves out for services of all sorts in various parts of the Province, and especially for river navigation." (Ibid.) Which thus shows a participation on the "Guanás" part in the regional labor market.

the Kinikinâu (120) supplying provisions to the neo-Brazilian

/65 cont./

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120. "The Quiquináus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of
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Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

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439
population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite role in the regional trade.

It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
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tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikináu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

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Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikináus, and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...
[361]
at Bonito. The Kinikináus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)

121. 1948:218.

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./ Finally, both in
361 Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the
241 ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus,
[231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central
[417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

162 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna
621 Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikináu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

● 439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of
434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the
439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as
[556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

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140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same

/77 cont./ [Cachoeirinha]

361 name and with which a few
439 Capão families--whose ranchos border on the settlement--maintain trade relations.

434 especially Miranda, where they buy fat ("grease"), macaroni,
439 some meat, salt, etc., as well as clothes, occasional household equipment, and brandy, which is forbidden on the reser-
433 vations but is nevertheless found there. Unfortunately, we
128 have no data that would permit us to make an exact appraisal of the amount of the production of the aldea and its distribution through nuclear families. True, we could give estimates, but they would be of no comparative value since we could not carry
433 out the same procedure in relation to the other aldeas. It is sufficient for us to know that the production of most of the families (i.e., the production resulting from labor undertaken
[439] on their own lands) falls far short of their consumption. And we can illustrate this with the fact that a considerable number of families buy outside the aldea supplies such as manioc flour, which, in fact, is the principal product of the community.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

62 Passarinho and Moreira aldeas occupy two contiguous
[361] areas, situated in places near Miranda and have a total popu-
[162] lation of 239 persons. Like Cachoeirinha, these aldeas for
[166] some time have had an influx of families from other aldeas and fazendas, while they themselves have supplied Cachoeirinha
[162] with some individuals. In 1927, the population of Passarinho was estimated at 110 persons and that of /78/ Moreira at 98.
[361] At that time, Passarinho--the closer one--was two kilometers from Miranda; now, it can be said that both are no more than suburbs of the city, so bound to it are the lives of their members

178 cont. / [Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

621 and so close to them has the city come, by virtue of natural
[[62] development and expansion. Nowadays, Passarinho and Moreira number, respectively, 109 and 130 inhabitants, who make up a relatively homogeneous population consisting largely of Terena Indians (who identify themselves as "pure"), mestizos, and an occasional neo-Brazilian.

439 The means of communication of these aldeas connect
366 them with Miranda by a small road, at the entry of which
[491] there is a "bolicho" (141) that supplies the Indians with hard-

[[04]

141. "Bolicho" is a regional term applied to the small roadside stores that have in stock all kinds of merchandise, from food to cloth and iron tools.

648 ware and drinks. The native post, located in Passarinho, has
439 not been in operation for many years; suffice it to say that
366 the last man in charge of it was the owner of that "bolicho" and never lived in the aldea or duly attended to it: on the contrary, he made use of his position to improve his business, at the cost of the exploitation of the Indians and civilizados thereabout. (142) This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,

142. To give an idea of the role that was played by this individual in the native community, it is enough to say that at the time of our visit to those aldeas, no one knew him as the post superintendent, but he was rather well known as "the bolicheiro." Aside from

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

This road connects Passarinho with Moreira, the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the principal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União." In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder
233 is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
241 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
464 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[166] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikinâu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal, excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[348] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
● 439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal, in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

/87 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

162 Among all the Terêna communities, it seems that Limão
621 Verde is the one with the most diversified ethnic composition. Probably even more so than Lalima. In the Limão Verde nucleus alone there are 10 neo-Brazilian families and two Paraguayan ones, aside from many mestizos of Terêna origin. In Córrego Sêco, however, there are only Terêna families, undoubtedly
621 owing to its more isolated geographic position. As in Bananal,
798 there are in Limão Verde serious conflicts of politico-religious
797 origin. In the community (as in the other Terêna aldeas), North American Redemptorist padres work hard at the religious proselytism of their members. Also Protestants, of the same Bananal group, endeavor to convert Indians, Paraguayans, and neo-Brazilians to their creed. The result of this has been the division of the small Limão Verde nucleus into Catholics and Protestants and the identification of Córrego Sêco as a Catholic nucleus (in the same way as Ipegue).

162 Going from Aquidauana to Limão Verde, one passes
361 through three population nuclei: in the first place, Morrinho,
368 where we found several /88/ bolichos, among which that of the
871 "Paraguayan" was the biggest and the best supplied; in this nucleus we did not find Indians and it would be more fitting to describe it as a neo-Brazilian settlement, with a rural school and Catholic church; in the second place, one passes through Limão Verde proper, where we found two churches, one Catholic and the other Protestant; both serve also as schools, with a school of the municipality operating in the first and one of the
[875] Protestant mission itself in the second; in both, the teaching body is made up exclusively of Indians and mestizos (it should be emphasized that the município teacher is Pascoal Dias, nephew of old Daniel); finally, one reaches Córrego Sêco, whose children--in truth very few--attend the Limão Verde schools.

● 439 Limão Verde, comprising both nuclei, prefers to sell its products to Aquidauana, where they fetch better prices, although it also maintains trade relations with the neo-Brazilian

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for export are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unrefined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And, in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the non-native members of the community. We would venture to say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most widely spoken language.

In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people of Aldeinha.

In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião, and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the insistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis." Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and purposes the head of the community, says that immediately after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers." Whether the persons who went to live there were already Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 628 346 875 they erected a spacious shed and left there a teacher, at a salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a month, recruited from the Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 621 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community, it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia," Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements. It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolícho." [439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia," but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians, 439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close contact and intensive trade relations with the native community. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/, and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it 241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community plants for its own consumption the following species: rice, /sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts. 797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community [349] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that on the reservation there is no building that might be called a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics. As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission, 177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture change in the community are limited to the post, practically

[Buriti]

/95 cont./

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from
the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I.
school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the
schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres
who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single
adult male in the community; they were all working on the
fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission
already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of
access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos"
and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the
"bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from
Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business
houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding
house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the
latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called
Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great
dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[439] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with
Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them
because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in
Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in
quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

[Francisco Horta]

/97 cont./ But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all the communities studied are characterized by being turned toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, although as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/129 cont./

177 better recreation, and better education for their children.
369 This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience,
203 since it is unusual for the adult Terêna male to be unfamiliar
208 with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater
[484] attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town
[439] to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads), or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the aldea makes the community receptive to urban things and begins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can
369 offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw
167 the Terêna from his aldea once and for all. The experiences
578 we had with the aldea population, especially with the
181 Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terêna emigrates only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not find the conditions necessary for his development. We have an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian, Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an aldea in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre, because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent
[554] at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldea, and for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed on his plantations his own compatriots--, his recent move

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the flcor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

312 /406 cont./ Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees
439 many women with nets filled with water calabashes, which they
[415] carry on a forehead band.

241 The Terenos plant cotton, maize, and chiefly mandioca.
242 The last-named root is the principal constituent of their diet.
439 A flour (farinha de mandioca) which they make out of the above-
286 named root always finds a good market in Miranda. The Terenos display much taste and patience with regard to weaving. A girl often works six months and more on a hammock. To make up for it, however, these things are also durable and solidly made.
[531] The hammocks are white with a red or blue pattern. They obtain
[586] the blue dye from a plant which they call uito (in any case, indigo).
The stems and leaves of the plant named are boiled and then the
[439] yarn is dipped in this brew. The red wool which often appears in their woven work comes from red flannel which they barter for in Miranda. This flannel is cut into pieces, pulled to threads, and then spun again. I saw weaving frames of all sizes with work begun on them in all the huts. They greatly prize their own products, because the latter are very durable, and only very unwillingly yield to bartering them. If they do this, they demand
[415] an audaciously high price for them. The red and white bags with
[531] blue and white bead embroidery are very popular; such bags are
[586] usually the first present from the bride to the bridegroom.

323 The Terenos are likewise very skilled in the making of pottery and display quite a special taste in this. The manufacture is very simple and without any tools. The potter kneels on the stamped, hard, smooth ground; at his side lies a pile of sticky clay, from which he rolls a piece into a ball; he then rolls this into a long roll and forms a ring out of it. He now lays several such rings over one another /407/ and presses and smooths with his hands the vessel thus produced, until it has the proper form. When the vessel is finished to this extent, the pattern is impressed with a string into the still soft mass of clay; it is dried in the sun for a few days, and then it is fired in a very simple manner. That is, the utensils are covered with dry wood and then the latter is set afire. After a few hours the crockery is taken out and the impressed

/407 cont./

323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel. Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[462] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[824] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[439] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow. The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut. The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing, lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he extends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded. --
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family. The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
241 from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
824 weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
165 strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
329 drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
847 meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
846 tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
262 once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.